route, a path unsuitable for vehicles, but still used by the villagers, and several tracks lead off to the villages at its rear. Rowanduz proved itself advantageous for an initial investigation of Kurdish culture, for it has a basic population of merchants and landowners whose life is considerably richer and more complex than that of the poor farmers and shepherds. To obtain the most complete portrayal, of course, a desirable supplement should be obtained from the villagers and the nomads in future work. In relation to the second problem, however, the impact of the state on Kurdish society, Rowanduz was ideal, because it was in the town that the new class of society, that of the government officials and officers, had replaced the few Ottoman officials and the first signs of change could be observed. The first object of this study, then, is the analysis of Rowanduz as an administrative and mercantile center and Kurdish life as it is to be observed there. The second object is the determination of the way in which the imposition of a new order of society has affected the Kurds.

62 because to a much larger number, which explains what may at
Sal first appear as abnormally high numbers. To these have been added the figures for vessels, of which a discussion will be found below.

	Men	Women	Total	Number of villages
Marine Delta (the central district)				
The town of Kawaloa	3,103	3,103	6,206	
The outlying	8,013	7,098	15,110	92
Point	4,047	3,766	7,813	70
Surveyed	3,305	2,761	6,066	-
Unsurveyed	-	-	3,078	93
Open Water	5,375	5,378	10,753	90
			48,706	
Vessels	2,427	2,123	4,550	
			54,256	

The numbers given for vessels may be treated with even greater suspicion, because they are even less accessible than the villager to the census-taker, who, in their minds, has little to differentiate himself from the tax-collector or recruiting officer.

293 Sal The writer of the count—outside in Turkish, as opposed to internal, the village—must give no pause. The term "vessel" has a variety of applications, and, in the MIAIA Sect, is given the classical sense in those area numbering of the Syrian and Arabian deserts or the Turkoman hinterland of the northern marches, "true" vessels in the sense that to a very large extent they can live independently of others from the produce of their flocks

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and herds. The Kurdish shepherds and herdsmen of northern Iraq cannot be said to belong to this group. Although the matter requires more exact study, they live in symbiotic relationship with certain larger groups of sedentary farmers with whom they have definite economic and social ties, these last usually tribal or, at least, a common overlordship. It seems very much as though a real division of labour were involved, certain of the group being devoted to move the flocks of the whole with the change of seasons, but the historical background of this interdependence is more complex. It is, for example, uncertain whether or not the Kurdish people as a whole were once nomadic in some restricted sense, one author holding that the word "Kurd" itself was in Medieval days but a generic term for rough mountaineers.[1] However the development may have taken place, there is abundant evidence that the hostile, with their mobility and firepower (the sound of the Middle East euphemisms weapons to a much greater extent than the agriculturist), survived until quite recently extensive dominance over the settled folk while quite inferior to them in numbers. The Kurdish chieftains, the old powers of the land, are in many cases associated with nomadic groups, perhaps belonging directly among them, although as landowners they need not follow the migrations. It should further be remembered that a small number of herdsmen can account for

[1]Nowbakht, 1951, p. 234.

lightly. There are, to be sure, a number of pietists, old men or youthful fanatics, centered around the ruling who insist on the strict observance of the demands of the Quran and condemn those things which have grown up beyond its scope, such as the shaving of holy men or the use of charms. Those who seem to pay the least attention to religion are members of the government elite, but even they are hardly unbelievers. What is perhaps most important is the fact that Islam is a part of the daily round rather than something specially relegated to a single day of the week. Unlike the perfectionism of Christianity of the New Testament, it is a practical faith which makes few demands upon its worshippers which are incongruous with the way of the world. It is thus that one rarely, if ever, finds a person in Rwanda who is having difficulties with his religion. Those who neglect their daily prayers or fast are assumed to make amends for this failing sooner or later and it is thought that all will be well with them. It cannot be legitimately said that the townspeople, as previously, are closer to their religion than those of the cities, for, insofar as one has been able to observe, the urban populations of the Arab Middle East are just as rigorous, if not fanatic, in their worship as those in the country. The religious complex of Rwanda, in its multiplicity of aspects, constitutes much to daily life. It does not constitute a logically consistent whole, but is rather a loose aggregate of many beliefs and practices whose origins, whether they are Islamic or

[16].

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be established below relation, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish women". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigative material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and pre-tribal environment, but there two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village sphere can be socially divided into two zones, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the chiefs' houses in Tirgavera, Shahida, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant houses in Tirgavera, Bilkoma, Hilkoe Bostana and Nalbiba. The palm offshoot's house I check in at the first house of Hilkoe Bostana was in between the two.

The pre-tribal camp environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban-urban) I first met with in the Iraqi Line capital, Sulaimaniyah, but also in Erbil, Kirkuk, Dohuk, Zakho and Amadiya. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group while the daughter had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern subtropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent storm on June 6th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the subterranean lower home on open space outside the one above it. The accommodations consists of numerous rooms lodged for work and living-out rooms, on the bottom of stone-and-mud construction. The average two storey-home rises to level the ground. The subterranean and ground-floor

to discover in the dining room or bathroom to manifestation of the home's economic standard, even kept in this room, which then became more a treasury than a familial room. The articles of value are locked in them were carried on the person to the home of guests. Wealth was being on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their unluxuriously bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home rises also to interest in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1]; brothers, a married couple withdrawn to one of the other rooms. There was no embarrassing where going to bed or lying down to rest on the unfastened mattress. The custom kept to the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the indoor of the married women, which was replaced by a light veil that covered the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be yours and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the example of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not to the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had entered, via Europe, in the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it meant a day dress which was kept as clean as was easy to keep. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed to enter to wash a multiplicity more, and more, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The general or lower washing of the body whereby one washes a disadvantage more, prior to prayer, is hardly ground hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time natural had been relieved, simply described by any conception as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablutions, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or washing toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" does had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in as large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a few primitive lamps and a quantity of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed on a bamboo screen of the family circle, where the last "alcohol lamp", whether on the wall, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. In lighting it was gently and more inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the workhouse by the light of a fire, or to work on the garden beds in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the weak light from the lamp. In the city home of the village schoolmaster, generally European elements could be found: mirrors, framed window curtains with rather coarse (only hand) on the

Fig. 24. Lane in Sulaimaniya. Left: wall of house inside. Right: wall of next house.
Fig. 25. Mud wall with entrance to sleeping room. Woman is sifting dough on a raising with Sulaimaniya.

The home was to be reviewed as a type of [illegible] background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, in the family [illegible] of any entrepreneur in Sulaimaniya. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimaniya. Although he invited us three months before the business was [illegible] one of the larger booths in the city with a comprehensive [illegible] for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, shown 46), the family in this home consisted of two wives, 31 and 27, and eleven children, (31 [illegible] five were sons: 26, 23, 9, 8 and about 4 months, and six daughters: [illegible] eldest), 25, the others 23, 17, 15, 12 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Personality data, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Sheikh property at Tagawra, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of non-terraced houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimaniya, and looked out on an external alley between [illegible] walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with [illegible] brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that also

...of the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former lying slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though not connected with the facility section of the house[37]. Along the wall facing the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a cushion, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow. In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it, to withdraw a water container under which a fire could be lit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bath-room, which also lay along the street wall with a small dressing room in front. Otherwise the bath-room was constructed in the same way as that in the Shaikh's house at Tuqueres. The house thus had three taps in all from which Sulaiman's genial and well-dressed counterpart water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were evenly built of pebble brick. The court-yard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small bank with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after sorting the coals. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the woman's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, the part of the house—the object, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of keyhole—between, this opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had horizontally built floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the cooler part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows giving light down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and foodstuffs generally were kept, lay behind the glass reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the gentlemen was squeezed

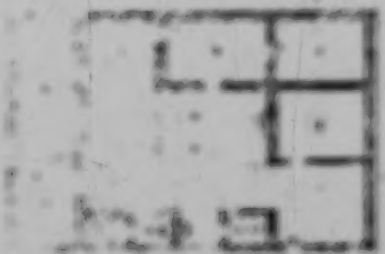

Fig. 36. Ground plan of [illegible] house, Kermanshah
Scale 1:200
A = central living room, to note its sleeping recess at one corner; B = courtyard and living room; C = flat-roofed passage; D = latrine; E = guest room; cf. fig. 34.

to between the stone wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at Tripoura there was an all-weather and cooking pit built in the floor. There was skylight in the house and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was demonstrated, also as at Tripoura, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in the courtyard and in the stone-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the shelthouse, either over the all-purpose or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a numerous iron sheets, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the kitchen and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat round placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of cheesy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasions moved down to the courtyard. As we complete the table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no spell furniture, but the guest room possessed an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a crochet's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with clothes, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Enclosed in the corners stood the tins, old and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[9]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the workhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimaniyah the two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members of the family unless a rain storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, too, with the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Tripoura, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent transept, divided off by mats[10], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A considerable contrast was evident between the extensive night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the lower half, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the home,

representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages. But was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, normal type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both fellow-school teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first child, divide the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

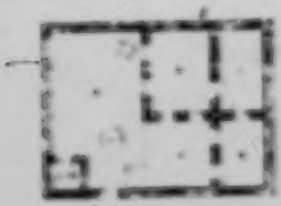

Fig. 11, 427, figs. 24 and 30. Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Mohammed. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, b: cycle, b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and bathing facilities on courtyard; e: thermometer; f: latrine; g: guest room.

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Edentarul and semi-sedentarul urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the house of my interpreter at Seketuri it was baked at home on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was lent for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but some of the women in the house possessing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets, of a thicker and coarser quality from the Seketuri bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Milk* is delivered daily from outside. Sours to be put in *mămăliță* is fetched from the *stâlp* by one of the kids, carried home on his head, rinsed under the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The normal consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating: the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Lăbăr* is made specially by the husband[1] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When needed, *Lăbăr* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the *stâlp*. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the *stâlp* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and cooking. It is put into sacks stitched together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman commissioned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within one's own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

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Fig. 49. Left: measuring rod (E. 2272) used in determining (Cf. p. 80). Centre: spindle (E. 2246). The raw wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: flat wooden stick (E. 2250), round which folded material is wound and boiled to get pleated. (Cf. fig. 48).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

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407
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Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu. There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vessels.

Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant woman when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawella the women even spun during their long walk to and from the orchards.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *ebil*, (E. 2246) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindle-whorl of about 0.033 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. Whilst making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstretched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

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Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the coarser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2252) intended for smooth-woven rugs, the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2247) intended for material for men's clothes. The

the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the women wear in a tent along the transverse room. This tent is narrowness behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and wraps it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from below to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 391

Loose dress from Western culture. Long nightgown with gathered sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is worn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1927. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dressing or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long sleeves, embroidered with spangles. Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 391 (?)

Distribution of the elements of women's dress. Within the East Greek environments dress elements very conspicuous of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress types from the West. These dress elements varied multifariously in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village environment. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, cloth or petticoat, gown or tunic, waistcoat, jacket, sarban and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also cloth cap, cloth veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and loose cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married women often disappear with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the bride impregnated with metal thread, and coarse nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 369 325 391 [434]

It is typical of the dress whereby that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the district's home in Tuppawa rolled out dough and baked in woollen-green brocade trousers, waistcoat of the same colour, and black tulle bride with patches of gold thread. She rolled the gold thread in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the worst and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads crowned in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn, in bed are the turban, the cloth shoulder cloth and loose cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Belts, cloth and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which later would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the cloth also. Only the padded outer gowns of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather. 391 [513] [396] [411]

Fig. 40. Village ensemble. Married woman's dress, front and back. Tegouma.

The clothing elements connected with Islam: the black face veil and the black silk, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village ensemble within the village area, but become obligatory when wandering from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, etc. Sokoinsé or places further distant like Kirkyé and Mopti.

The ordinary peasant ensemble. Here also three versions of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a brown-brick outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried women and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Bandiagara no turban, but the whole skull cap covered with silver coins (E. 2883) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant woman did not lie in the form or number of the garments but in their colour and material. The clothing of the peasant woman was mainly composed of flowered cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Tegouma and Kalassa are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Sarkasi is vermillion, and in Mossa Bassam black, navy oil, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver sheath. During work at Tegouma the lower

peculiar to that village. It always used by the poorest women on their way to the fruit plantations at Tamelle. My interpreter told me that the women considered it indecent to show themselves without this headdle on the head, an attitude similar to that found in Europe to the door of the hands. During work in the fields it was a kind of apron to me. This consisted of a large piece of woven wrapped round the body, the two upper corners being tied together over the left shoulder. A similar protective apron was worn in the village of Darkun while threading tobacco leaves for a string. Another type of dress I discovered was worn—as far as I was given to understand—by rare arrivals in Tegsana, and was a little contemptuously described as "Persian dress". This was also a trouser costume, but comprised of an entire long tunic (shift) up over a low-sitting belt with metal furnishings consisting of a large and several smaller silver brooch[1]. The surface was worn with this dress, but a head with now long flaps that hung down the back. In the same way the head jewellery, a triple chain of coins, was of a different type from that worn by the other women in the village. It was stated to be typical of Khanzenan[2]. As with the village environment the plain peasant woman dress the black veil used also among town.

The urbanized urban environment shows a highly homogeneous picture from the point of view of dress[3]. If I review the various dress types to which my interpreter appeared in the course of our four month cooperation, it will serve to explain what I mean. Her two most important articles of clothing, without which she never left the home, were, as for other urban women within the women in the new village environments, the black face veil and shift. Under this her dress could be a complete complement of genuine Kurdish elements, in composition quite like the daughter's dress in the environments village clothes, except that the material and light colours that were exceptional in villages here were the rule. In addition she always wore a belt round her waist, a thing worn only exceptionally by young women of the village, while at the same time retaining as usual the trouser-like material tied her hips—an arrangement she transformed to European panties which she rolled down over the hips, never wearing the elastic round her waist. At the same time, like her earlier colleagues, she showed a tendency to prefer bodies of coarsely-woven tulle or transparent that they disdained the fashioned European petticoats which in the female environment had replaced the loose-sitting shift. Her married colleagues did not wear the turban arrangement and their jewellery was worn in the form of a chain (I, 295) placed along the edge of the waistcoat or as a belt around the waist. Under the black shift my interpreter might have a long wide nightgown with or without its appurtenance jacket, her home and sleeping dress. Inspired by the European nightgown, this article of clothing, like men's pyjamas, is not in the Kurdish dressing scheme specially a night garment, but is worn all round the clock—a European garment adapted to Kurdish custom. She might wear blouse and skirt or a complete dress tailored or ready-made in precisely the same style as the European-American, though, in accordance with Kurdish custom, it was also slept in. In the urbanized urban milieu the "white bride" dress had also been adopted. At their weddings both my interpreter's sisters wore a long white wedding dress with a short white veil. The underwear that went with it was also European except that garters were worn instead of [illegible] girdle. The adoption of European dress elements meant a breach of the normal pattern: that also

78 *Female clothing: dresses distributed over the four female cultus*

Fig. 41 Ewenjare wedding dress (cf. p. 71) (23). Ethnomet cultus environment. Additional

and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an ethnomet cultus belonged a satin loose coat and a nightgown (wedded solely for just an night, which prerequisite wednesday. In the cultus were also found trousers and dress combined trousers of linen cotton, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the ethnomet cultus environment:

The upper garments connected with bikini are the most important dress elements. The Kandak elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of disappearance in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Bakalemui a short European shoulder-less part of the cultus is retained together and placed like a hoodle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

Female clothing elements distributed over the four possible outfits.

evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress covers the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The westernized urban environment. In this outfit also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is more composed on mostly the same lines as that worn in the rural village environments. As regards the essential it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village women. In the westernized urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this outfits, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married women, whilst the westernized lady wears a head veil.

Fig. 41. Ordinary peasant environment, Antalya.
Fig. 42. Westernized urban environment, Kahramanmaras.

Female clothing elements distributed over the four Kandili castes 61

Kandili women and the Kanjarbhat castes with saree, respectively. Kandili female dress is most clearly predicted by the other three of Parkin's contrast contexts (cf. S. 1978). Accordingly, in Bellary (1961), S. 216) the Kallu concepts to dress has undergone a great change in the last eleven years, that is since 1950. The dress type of Parkin (Kandili dress with sarees) revealed and "Kallu" dress is a quite different type (cf. S. 1978).

The Curry is here, rather over described by Hutching, from the same type of transport/distribution sarees, with a sarees like the Kandili, though the sarees are sparrower and less visible than those of the Kandili sarees in Gujarat (Hutching 1970, 145, 153, figs. 111, 112, 113).

Elements of women's dress and their distributions

Group	Elements	Village settlements		Town areas		Regional cities		Industrial cities	
		caste girls	women	caste girls	women	caste girls	women	caste girls	women
A	Trousers, shirt, frilly, sweaters, jackets, and collar	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+
B	Top, skirt, frilly, shoulder shirts, collars, and dress shirts		+		+		[illegible]		+
B1	Short skirts	+	+	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+
B2	Skirt + belt	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]
B3	Trousers	[illegible]	+			+	+	[illegible]	[illegible]
B4	Tops, veil, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	+	+	+	+
B5	Cotton sweaters			+	+			+	+
B6	Silk, synthetic silk, and blouses	+	+		[illegible]	+	+		
B7	Dress designs					+	+		
B8	European garments					+	+		

+ : The element appears consistently everywhere.
(+) : The element appears sporadically.
1 : Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, is not standard in the observed urban settings.
2) : In the local dress of the married women in all environments. Not standard in the observed urban settings.
(2) : In supplementary to the functions of the married women and continues the use functions of the unmarried girls. Not standard in the observed urban settings.
(3) : Only standard in the observed urban settings.
4) : Not standard in the village environments settings or in the unobserved urban settings. Exceptions belong to the Kandili village settings.
5) : Worn down in the two urban environments and worn by village women when away from the village.
6) : Used mainly in the common village and unobserved urban environments.
7) : Silk Armenia is characteristic of the village environment and observed urban environments. Can be observed be worn with evening married women in the Kandili village settings.
(8-9) : Dress designs characteristic of the observed urban settings and as European trends.

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common habitation. During their stay at home in the village they led the life of adult men, that is to say they spent most of the day outside the home in company with those of their own age. They used to night the cow bells, and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligation resting on the sons of the home was the nothing upon any male guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

The elder of these two sons, aged 16, worked as a mechanic with the European engineers on the Dokan Dam Site, which involved to an irreparable breach in his pattern of behaviour, the structure of which has its basic coherence. As the leading young man of the village, he left the district farm every morning on horseback. The other lands from Tiqtaana and Rikaan (several on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (nearly an hour's walk, only trying in great summer heat). At the Dokan Dam Site he then was submerged among the other unskilled Kurdish labourers, a dirty task, exclusive in overalls, renewing his inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back on his ass of the mountains to his father's home. Here his 12 year old half-sister took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, put it out to grass, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash, if this was performed on the day known outside the normal room and not at the garden basin.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers with whom he had most to do, and a flirtation or a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the selling of his hours, for he only received money which was of no interest whatever in the preconcrete village milieu, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the Europeans, a thing he had desperately hoped for. He was a typical example of the results of an old pattern of life, with its firmly fixed scale of values, being dissolved under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

The girls in a humble village environment, like these in the aforesaide, took part in domestic activities which also comprised the fetching of water, often from far away, and walking out in the mountains. Small girls were always seen with smaller children on their backs, whom they helped with anything there was to do, and rushed to the nearest watercourse if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages have nothing of schools, but they grow up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

For two months schooling did not enter into the life pattern of boys either among ordinary peasants in the villages. On the other hand their labour was much utilized in agriculture. They watched the sheep and goats. They fetched grass from the mountains on Tuesday, equipped with sacks and sickles. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which stood them in good stead later in life.

In the tribal and Kurdish environments, the educated and semi-literate urban milieus, schooling was necessary for both boys and girls.

An elementary school scheme exists in Southern Kurdistan consisting of a 6 year primary and 3 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 2 year intermediate and a 2 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1946 a 4 years primary schooling is obligatory when possible.

[illegible]

[illegible] of women in the home, where the younger replied on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by the opposite. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still so to found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

[illegible] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longing and freedom which they childhood is true in no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time when the child becomes a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

In my opinion one culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, look to regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to harness the big demands made upon them by an industrialized society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child so he able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, practising in definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and other goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home

Activity	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work in home								
Work outside home								
Schooling								
Sport etc.								

A restore to girls in all four Kurds environments is necessary in the home according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village settles, also help in the adult women to work outside the home, milking, thrashing of wood etc. For girls in an urban settles, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys running in the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village settles they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an urbanized village settles the boys are sent away to school to learn like Sulaimani and Erbil. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and to the extent that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

...

...

...

While, today, the conclusion of marriage is signalled by two things, the drawing up of a marriage settlement and the wedding festivities.

The drawing up of a marriage settlement is, as Levy points out[1], the more I am inclined to see the basic feature of a contractual marriage. According to what my interpreter told me, a marriage settlement draws up by Qadis in the urban milieu of Sulaimani demands the presence of two male members of the bride's family, the most important of whom is the bride's guardian, as well as two fully mature male members of the prospective bridegroom's family, that is to say the groom and three others, must also be present. There is also a male and the girl by whom the marriage settlement is drawn up[2]. My interpreter informed me that the prospective bride might also be present, though silently veiled and in a concealed passive role. Whereas the bridegroom thus has no opportunity of seeing the bride until the marriage is consummated, the bride apparently is afforded a chance of seeing her future husband. I was also told that on this occasion she is asked whether she agrees with him in that case is her to refuse to go on with the marriage, her father being unable to force her. According to the Mufti she has three years to the marriage[3]. The marriage settlement is not concluded between the bride and bridegroom, but between the bride's wali and the bridegroom with the other present as witnesses[4]. The bridegroom agrees to pay the bride price, in one a finally fixed, and with it the dowries given from grain a gift of it is to be immediately available, before the wedding, and how much is to be held back for payment in the event of a divorce, that is to say if a man repudiates his wife or right not divorce by the latter), or in case of the husband's decease. When my interpreter's sister contracted marriage, I was told that the sum set aside for the contingency of divorce or widowhood was not, as normally[5], a half or a third, but if I understood aright - exactly how much the sum paid was, 1000 Din. (£166). The paid up part of the bride price was 400 Din. (£66). This large sum my interpreter's family demanded guaranteed to secure the girl's marital position and to prevent any repudiation in the event of another wife[6]. I cannot say whether the sum was made larger than in fact it was in order to add prestige to the family's economic reputation.

With the drawing up of the marriage settlement the man, in addition to paying out the bride price, undertakes to support his wife, give her food, clothes, and incidentals commensurate with the standard obtaining in her family home[7]. A breach of this marriage settlement gives the wife grounds for divorce. The other possibility a woman has of obtain divorce is the repayment of the bride price. Apart from these occasions the right to dissolve marriage lies with the man, who utters three times the word talāq, "I repudiate thee", or better, in Ayoubi's[8] translation, "I renounce all rights over thee", or in some cases when drawing up the marriage settlement certain clauses, of by can be inserted or attached so that definite legacy or positive actions on his part nullify his rights over the wife, thus providing her with one more possibility to obtain a divorce. On contracting marriage the wife undertakes to bear the husband children who belong to the husband, also in the event of divorce. Even if a man, the woman takes the children with her so long as they are quite small, but is obliged to send them back to the father's home when the boys are six and the girls eight years old.

As mentioned, the drawing up of the marriage settlement takes place at the qadi, the judge. (It was stated that in the villages only the local mulla was necessary). This has caused Barnes[9] to declare that the drawing up of a marriage settlement is a civil act, advancing as proof of this assertion that

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] in the room, more or less with whom marriage was precluded. After the drawing up of the marriage settlement he was thus considered as already her brother-in-law. (The engagement [illegible] year or [illegible] marriage is mentioned by Westermarck[1] in regard to the Egyptian fellahin. On the other hand, he was never alone with his fiancée. My interpreter was always present in the guest room when the two young people were talking together, and he did not every other pay a visit. They never went to the cinema or paid calls together. She wore the veiled veil over her head when speaking to him, her or the same time never about in a remarkably decently way, almost to old, dirty clothes. The two young people went to go together to Baghdad to buy furniture and clothes with their part of the [illegible] bride price that was not to be expended in jewellery. The furniture items were to be in the most modern Baghdadi style, bedroom suit in polished wood and so forth. My interpreter, the elder sister, joined the party which consisted of the couple and a half-sister, 13 years old, who was to be given the chance of seeing the capital. They stayed at an huge hotel in the main thoroughfare, Rashid Street. My interpreter informed me that all five shared a room in which they had both days and seven food meals, prepared food having been brought at stops in the town. As a bonus there was no sightseeing at night. Later I stayed with my interpreter and her 30-year old brother in the same hotel. Here also only one room was ordered for the three of us. During the stay at Baghdad the young people were never down but under the surveillance of the two sisters with them.

When the prospective bride was on an occasion by car with the women of the house and her elder brother, she took the other women's shoes and said soft, great care being taken that the veil was not lifted or shifted. It was explained that this was in order that nothing could be said about her either by her prospective husband or his future brothers. There was no actual sign of avoidance as is mentioned by Granqvist[2] in regard to the Palestinian Arabs, where the young people never see each other while they are engaged, and the prospective bride runs hide herself when the young man pays a visit to the home. However, the young people in my interpreter's home in Sulaimaniyah appeared to be surrounded by more restrictions in their affianced state than they had been when they first met as colleagues at the school.

The bride price[3]. Its employments and sociological significance.

[illegible] The bride price mark is mentioned in the Quran, Sura 4, verse 4 and Sura 2, verse 5, as the ordained morning-gift, for it expressly has been done that the Faithful are permitted to take in marriage virtuous women of the believers and virtuous women of the people who received the scripture earlier—that is to say Jews and Christians, when they give them their marriage portions and live with them in honour. As early as 1716 Niebuhr reports that the Kurds in the then Turkish territories differed from Old Arabs in that greater pleasure was evinced at the birth of a daughter than of a son, as a good bride price could later be obtained (pp.361, only a small consensus being given for B-tokens, whereas the Arabs and Turks regard the whole bride price on the bride's affairs and even add to it. Niebuhr concludes by saying "many daughters are thus with them a source of wealth"[4].

In a Swedish village culture, Sollefte, I was told that a 15-16 year old bride was acquired for a bride price of 20 Ore, plus a dress for the bride. Whether the sum was paid over in cash or in kind, cattle etc. was not stated. Bishop[5] says of the Babylonian that the bride price was be paid in the form of a

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. With the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a chunky wooden chair in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayed, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narrow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red velvet silk cloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked like a chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow was considered auspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bride started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars were ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with the bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained at the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a bed made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleeping out on the roof.

In connexion with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was given a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father being the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of the guest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party went on as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day the newly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amounting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over her head in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[11], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the signs of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She does run the same risk as brides I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying women did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

595 595 children living in the home showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[588] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizay", who, 70 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lane[589]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife to conform to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

587 595 Two half-grown 13-14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargalu marked the existence of an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, successions of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 369 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children—a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Topzawa, and a male baby and girl of 3, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[590] at the sheikh's homes in Topzawa and Serkan. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage), and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

595 595 595 363 There remain conditions in what is called the uneducated urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influence. The milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed a good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bicycles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other's children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the Koran to persons up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes—when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Koran—both unlimited wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

591 592

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

595 a hand with the housework, look after her future children, and keep her company when the husband,
565 as is the custom in Islamic areas, spent a large part of the day in company with other men. This arrangement, I was told, was purely due to practical considerations. The presence of the second, younger wife in the home in Sulaimani with her nine children (one, a daughter, was married), who with the three adult children of the elder wife, plus the husband, brought the size of the family up to 14. All the girls over a certain age had, as opposed to their mothers, gone over to an educated milieu away from the home, and left behind a colossal burden of work, particularly in the winter, in the form of cooking, baking, washing, etc., for the two wives at home. This burden was equally divided between the two wives, which was too much for the elder. By moving out to the village with her newly-married daughter she would obtain a far easier life. In the home in Sulaimani it was apparently not possible for the one wife to leave an undue amount of work to the other; on the contrary they appeared to share it all loyally. The one making tea made it for the whole family, the one cooking or washing clothes did the same. Similarly, the two wives certainly seemed to share the daily work in the home, and their children showed equal affection for both mother and stepmother.

595 In this case, then, the husband had seen in a village a beautiful, accomplished girl with whom, to
586 use a European term, he fell in love, showing due consideration for his first wife he had made her his second. The divorce here was due to the fact that the two women could not agree.

A young wife with two quite small children, who was returned to her family by the husband, was quoted as an example of incompatibility of temperaments. The husband was much older and very wealthy, but, it was said, incredibly miserly, and the wife refused to submit to this. Before I left I heard that the man had regretted his repudiation which apparently had not been triple and final. He now wanted her to return before the expiration of her 'idda-period.

A man of my interpreter's [illegible] a half-brother of her stepmother, was married to a woman of about 25, who since she was married to him (at the age of 11), had borne him four daughters, two of whom (7 and 2) had survived. As all the children had been female, and under pressure from friends and neighbours, he was seeking a second wife who would, he hoped, be able to bear him sons. Three times marriage negotiations had been initiated on his behalf but for various reasons had broken down. The man was now at the end of the thirties. His wife appeared to be reduced to despair by the situation, and it would be difficult for the new wife to cooperate with her; furthermore she faced the prospect of the new woman demanding her divorce before consenting to matrimony, or that, cooperation failing between the two wives, she would later be cast out.

595 To sum up: Polygamy exists among Kurds in the urbanized urban milieu, but the number of
565 wives does not exceed two. Successive marriages, with children of earlier marriages as members of
369 the family, exist among the village aristocracy. Monogamy prevailed in the humble village milieu, perhaps mainly for economic reasons. Monogamy also prevailed in the educated urban milieu.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kard MA11

964 cases without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her rôle is a completely passive one. The ceremonia must consist of an unequal number of pieces of cloth. Neither knifes nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the home to the mosque, and then the burial ground, swathed in a prayer carpet over the ceremonia. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother: adf), accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl were practised in the uneducated urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as is the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of 965 the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connexion with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

[369] [765] [513] [301]

Fig. 91. Burial place with big trees outside the village. Tuyuren.

964 342 361

782 1179 pious exercises, which : the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

[857] [883] The youngest girl I so engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8–12 years old I did not see pray. The humble village women said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being passed over the hair as symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stones, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a steelsete for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

782 562 565 369 The women in the outward urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated mins, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—t all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests-opportunity provided for ablution, and they respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noted also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this as not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and, midday restroom for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest base by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed [935] on the shoulder of th other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the mid-hand or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheik's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regards the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

782 935 The result of thisobligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on thecharity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the sense of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a feebleminded girl was deposited every day by her parents a what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said tat although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

1778 revered .... the credulous .... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "first soon couture" is mentioned by Masse[46].

1789 1778 Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[45] writes: "... tant qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Fellberg, that there may be a parallel between these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

[1911] There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Massee[46], Ekirch[47], Fellberg[48] and Sease[47], Ekirch[48], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

1955 1982 The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended to due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-set leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

[369] [1894] [565]

Visible amulets	+	+		+
Encased amulets	+	+		+
Holy hand	+	+		
Saints' graves			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

293 562 [184] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban woman, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

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[554] *The head veil* of light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. Tied round at night in the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Topzawa, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt[1]. Within the village aristocracy it was mainly white. The humble village woman in Topzawa and Rakawa favoured white or turquoise whilst old women were black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the now flooded ferry hamlet of Mirza Rustam all were black and in Sargalu bright red.

293 576 562 In the two urban milieus the women of the house never went up the ladder to the *roof* at sundown to arrange the bedding without the head veil, *or* a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she could not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to she, or bring a guest tea, without this head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women covered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Serkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 133). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also retained the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, armless European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.

● 369 The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu when a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but the head still had to be covered.

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293 562 *The yellow-silver "bridal" veil* I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal house, in the one case walking the last stretch (Topzawa) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rakawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's

4: Hansen E-5 (1937) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

be residents of Tepsawa, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head cloth or the sleeves of the costume to cover the face even if there were male strangers in the vicinity, which Granqvist mentions as being a part of women's pattern of behaviour in Palestine[1].

On the other hand for both the educated and uneducated in the town the over-garment and veil was an indispensible part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman in a town like Sulaimani or the smaller trading centre, Halabja, could leave the home, shut off completely from the street, without taking with them its seclusion in the form of the *abā-u-pīčē*. These two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13-14. One of the adolescent daughters in the home of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realized until her father caught sight of her one day, when, clad in a far too tight, washed-out and very shoddy European summer dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women in the house to the *sūq* to buy the necessary *abā* and veil. The following day the girl had vanished forever from the town's street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of both the educated and uneducated urban milieu uphold the town practice of concealment when visiting villages. A sister of Sheikh Taifir of Tepsawa, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother. She clad herself in *abā* and veil in order to walk from Tepsawa to another village in the neighbourhood. As nobody in this covering ever carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her on the mountain track carrying a bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Tepsawa closely veiled. She also brought with her by mule over the Chamchamal pass her black over-garment, and managed in some remarkable way to get this around her as, in the dusk, with a flock of sheep streaming past the legs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Sargalu nestling in a valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 13 year old brother, her inevitable companion, back to to the Sheikh's house at Tepsawa to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit to the neighbouring village of Rakawa, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received on the loggia of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear *abā* and veil after the first day in the village. Town women thus took with them and used on isolated occasions in the villages the veil and over-garment worn in an urban milieu.

Distribution of veil types inside the four milieus.

Veil types	Village milieu/society		Rustic village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Triangular neck + shoulder veil tulle		+		+		(+)		+
Head cloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ochre bridal veil		†		+				†
European white bridal veil						+		
Face veil black	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

WOMAN'S POSSIBILLITY OF MOVEMENT AND SECLUSION

562 569 564 565 *Possibility of movement or greater or lesser degree of seclusion.* In the village aristocracy both the married and unmarried women left the area of the home but seldom. As an exception they could be the most distinguished guests at a village wedding. Here they remained in the women's group, strictly segregated from the men. There was no family in the village of equal birth on which they could pay calls. In this respect the women of the village aristocracy held a position similar to that of a lady of a royal family. Their domain comprised the rooms off the courtyard in which the house-work was performed and the roof. They could enter the guest house in order to clean, and could receive female guests there when the men were absent. Their area also extended to the kitchen garden and orchard if such existed in the neighbourhood of the home. On one occasion in Topzawa the wife and daughter in the sheikh's house extended their radius of action to the vineyard up in the mountains in order to pinch fresh vine leaves for culinary purposes. The wife of the house, but not the daughter, went on a family visit to Sulaimani. Both women, with the sheikh and his brother, paid a call, by car, on an Iraqi engineer working with European colleagues on the Dokan Dam Site. This man lived in a stone house similar to those inhabited by Europeans. During the visit the women remained to themselves in the bedroom of the house, which that day acted as the harem, the women eating, drinking tea, and sleeping there in the afternoon.

562 [123] In the village of Serkan the lady of the house and the wives of the sons received my interpreter and me in the newly-built, detached guest house, which that day had been left to the women as a reception room. At the same time the men of the house were holding a meeting with the government representative of the Land Settlement Commission and a large number of peasants. For this male meeting a temporary open-air guest house had been arranged under some high trees near a spring behind the sheikh's property. Here the men took their meals, conducted their negotiations and spent the night on mattresses rolled out on the ground. During the morning, the representative of the Land Settlement Commission approached the women's apartments in order that I, as a European, could be introduced to his assistants. At the sight of this elderly man entering the women's apartments, the wife and daughters-in-law of the house sprang to their feet and fled as though for an outbreak of fire, assisted by a young husband present, over a narrow passage into a small store room. Similarly, although it had been decided, the lady of the house later cancelled a planned tour of the garden on the ground that there was a faint possibility of the men's party above mentioned being able to catch a glimpse of her face.

569 562 A proposal that the daughter of the sheikh at Topzawa should accompany my interpreter, her 13 year old brother and me in a hired car and later cross the mountains by mule on a two-day visit to her own paternal uncle at Sargalu, was blankly refused by the girl's father. The escort proposed was not considered adequate. This what we understand by seclusion was practised within the village aristocracy. Married women seldom left their homes, young girls practically never, and none of them must allow themselves to be seen by male strangers.

369 562 554 565 In the meantime the following categories of men were permitted access to the family house within the village aristocracy: Firstly, and naturally, the men of the family, the husband, brother-in-law,

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA I Kurd MA II

and sons. Secondly, distant relatives of the married couples. In addition the family's courtyard and three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Tegnawa this included the peasants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dokan Dam. The house was also open to beggars and to sayyids. The sheikh families at Sagala and Serkan had both men and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind *mulla*[20], who occupied the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid by the sheikh and was thus a dependant. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in an elastic form that allowed definite categories of men, dependants in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Halabja's first lady, Lady Adela, who after Osman Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also considered the British officers as subordinate compared with her own position as representative of the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers.

The elastic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea of "my house is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "... the *Aghas* consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual"[21]. In my view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian *fellahin*: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect ... and indicates the value that the men put upon their womanfolk"[22]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion. Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary, an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched with greater strictness."[23] Barnes states something similar about conditions in India: "The Mohammedan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a mark of respectful care, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[9]. As early as 1881 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[10]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that some of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[11] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They are apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated woman in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Goizha School for Girls, established in 1956.

4: Nasreen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edge of the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abd* and the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year.

When dealing with traders in the *sūq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abd*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the man's world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families, followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home, in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of *abd* and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity in regard to certain male categories.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
591 activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were hawked from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apartments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other houses. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Ostrup[2] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his home is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night ... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
252 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operation to the house of a neighbour. Here there was a sunken, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the convex iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the house only made purchases in the city and then only of material, never, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Woodsmall's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping ... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[3].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind op-

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

562 592 not "free", being subjected to an elaborately-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose the spouse, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

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585 572 462 As mentioned earlier, women's radius of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, milling in the mornings, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the men, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

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562 329 In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

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562 329 592 Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home (in connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

594 593 579 During *qurbān bairām* the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson, two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Hakkāja. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Gautier says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem et toutes celles des harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville .... condition abracadrante, assurément implacable", and goes on to say: ".... Cet affreux tyran, le maître de harem, ayant du pouvoir absolu et des droits les plus révoltants, c'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ...." As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

G Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women.

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, his realm of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, inspected his fields, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimiyah on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, urge, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the home. (This is to seem a matter of course, but it had no parallel in any of the other three milieus.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Topzawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

In the humble village milieu, on the other hand, the men spent his leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or chatted with groups in the village booth. Village men danced alone some evenings before a wedding in order to utilize some musicians who had arrived. In the village milieu there was far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—so characteristic of Muslim areas—was encountered.

At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu no division between the man's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits at which no men were present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home thus belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being unaccustomed to, and not quite happy about, the situation, created out of consideration for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village milieu, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way.

This division appeared in its purest form in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only returned home to eat his meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure

was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate both a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home opposed to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dukan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit .... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there .... It is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Blackman[9] says of the Egyptian *fellahin*-women: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practice they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands .... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between man and woman, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of various elements inside the four milieus.

Milieus / elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Face veil and shut	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	+	+					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the man's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "low position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

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10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

361 Sulaimaniya is the chief town in Iraqi
• 369 Kurdistan, in that it is the largest town in the Kurdish area whose population is entirely Kurdish. Other towns exist in Iraqi Kurdistan, but the larger ones—Kirkuk, Erbil and Kifri—are inhabited by as many Turcomans as Kurds, although the tribes around are Kurdish. Kurds are essentially shepherds of the mountains, and do not take easily to the life of a townsman.

175 In this they resemble their distant
178 relatives the Pathans of Afghanistan and north-western India, who, in the early migrations of Aryan-speaking peoples, penetrated into the highlands east of the Persian plateau while the Kurds spread westwards into what is now north-western Iran, eastern Turkey and north-eastern Iraq. Here, in secluded mountain valleys, they preserved many ancient characteristics which their fellow migrants, settling

[p. 383(B)]